

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 199043 TOSEC 090009

FOLLOWING REPEAT PEKING 1823 ACTION SECSTATE
INFO HONG KONG MOSCOW TAIPEI TOKYO CINCPAC 20 AUG 77

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1823

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJECT: PRC 11TH PARTY CONGRESS COMMUNIQUE: FIRST IMPRESSIONS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. PEKING RADIO BROADCAST AT 2000 HOURS LOCAL
ON AUGUST 20 THE LONG-AWAITED ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE RESULTS OF
THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE 1 1/2
HOUR COMMUNIQUE OF THE CONGRESS, HELD FROM AUGUST 12 THROUGH
AUGUST 18, CONTAINED FEW SURPRISES: PARTY CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG DE-
LIVERED THE POLITICAL WORK REPORT; PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-
YING DELIVERED THE REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION;
AND RECENTLY-REHABILITATED PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN TENG HSIAO-PING
DELIVERED THE CLOSING ADDRESS WHICH TOUCHED ON "SEVERAL
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PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES" (UNSPECIFIED) WHICH COULD BE
RESOLVED ONLY BY "TRULY BELIEVING AND RELYING ON THE MASSES."
ALTHOUGH THE NEW PARTY POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE
STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS WERE NOT REVEALED IN THE
BROADCAST, THERE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN MINIMAL CHANGE.
PERSONS LINKED--AT LEAST IN THE POPULAR MIND--WITH
THE DISGRACED GANG OF FOUR WERE ALL LISTED AS CENTRAL

COMMITTEE MEMBERS; ONE OF THESE, SECURITY BOSS WANG TUNG-HSING, MAY EVEN HAVE WON A PARTY VICECHAIRMANSHIP. HUA KUO-FENG'S POLITICAL REPORT, AT LEAST AS SUMMARIZED IN THE BROADCAST, EMPHASIZED STANDARD THEMES PREVIOUSLY EXPOUNDED AT THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS THIRD PLENARY SESSION: HOLDING HIGH THE BANNER OF MAO TSE-GUNG THOUGHT, STRIVING TO ACHIEVE THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS OF CHOU EN-LAI IN THIS CENTURY, AND OPPOSING THE "HEGEMONY" OF BOTH SUPERPOWERS (THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US) WHILE ADHERING TO THE "THEORY OF THREE WORLDS" (WHICH TACITLY TILTS TO THE US AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION). OFFICIALS ASSOCIATED WITH US POLICY ALL REGAINED THEIR SEATS AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS: FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA, CHIEF OF THE PRC LIAISON OFFICE HUANG CHEN, AND INTERPRETER/ALTERNATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER TANG WEN-SHENG (NANCY TANG). VICE FOREIGN MINISTER (AND MAO TSE-TUNG'S KIN) WANG HAI-JUNG DID NOT GAIN A PLACE AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OR ALTERNATE.

TELEVISION COVERAGE OF THE CONGRESS GAVE PRIDE OF PLACE TO TENG HSIAO-PING AFTER HUA KUO-FENG AND PLAYED UP THE CASTING OF "SECRET BALLOTS" TO SELECT MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

EARLIER IN THE DAY, NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE VICE CHAIRMAN TAN CHEN-LIN TOLD A BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIAN THAT THE PARTY CONGRESS HAD ENDED AND HAD DECIDED "IMPORTANT CHANGES" IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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LEADERSHIP. ACCORDING TO TAN, POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS WELCOMING THE PARTY CONGRESS WOULD BE COMPARATIVELY MUTED IN CONTRAST TO THOSE FOR THE SMASHING OF THE GANG OF FOUR AND THE CONVOCAION OF THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS THIRD PLENUM (WHICH HAD REHABILITATED TENG HSIAO-PING). NOTWITHSTANDING THIS PREDICTION, THE CHANGES SEEMED MINIMAL--ALTHOUGH AN ACCURATE ASSESSMENT MUST AWAIT PUBLICATION OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NEW POLITBURO--AND THE "SPONTANEOUS" DEMONSTRATIONS SEEMED EVERY BIT AS ENERGETIC AND MASSIVE AS FOR THE EARLIER EVENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER SEVERAL DAYS OF SEEMINGLY AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION THAT THERE WOULD BE AN ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE RESULTS OF THE LONG-AWAITED 11TH PARTY CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PRC, PEKING RADIO BROADCAST AT 2000 HOURS LOCAL ON AUGUST 20 AN 1 1/2 HOUR ACCOUNT OF THE CONGRESS. ACCORDING TO THE BROADCAST, THE CONGRESS WAS HELD FROM AUGUST 12 THROUGH AUGUST 18. PARTY CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG, REAFFIRMED AS THE PARTY LEADER, DELIVERED A FOUR-HOUR POLITICAL WORK/REPORT. PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-YING DELIVERED A ONE-HOUR REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION. AND PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN,

TENG HSIAO-PING, JUST REHABILITATED AT THE THIRD
PLENARY SESSION OF THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS, DELIVERED
THE CLOSING ADDRESS.

3. THE BROADCAST LISTED MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDUM OF
THE CONGRESS, COMPOSITION OF THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE (201
MEMBERS), AND COPOSITION OF THE ALTERNATE MEMBERS (132) OF THE CEN-
TRAL COMMITTEE. THE ONLY MILD SURPRISE WAS THE THE APPARENT
ELEVATION OF POLITBURO MEMBER AND LONG-TIME MAO
BODYGUARD AND SECURITY BOSS WANG TUNG-HSING--GENERALLY
SUSPECTED OF PRO-GANG OF FOUR SYMPATHIES. WANG WAS
LISTED AS THE FOURTH VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONGRESS
PRESIDIUM (AFTER CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG AND VICE CHAIRMEN
YEH CHIEN-YING, TENG HSIAO-PING, AND LI HSIEN-NIEN) AND
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AS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE PRESIDUM. WHILE
THERE HAS BEEN NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE COMPOSITION OF
THE NEW POLITBURO OR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE STANDING
COMMITTEE, WE PRESUME THAT WANG TUNG-HSING
IS DESTINED TO BECOME A PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN ALONG WITH
YEH, TENG, AND LI. BY SO DOING, WANG SEEMS TO HAVE MOVED
INTO THE SLOT PREVIOUSLY OCCUPIED BY GANG OF FOUR MEMBER
CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, WHO HAD SERVED AS SECRETARY-GENERAL
OF THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS (AUGUST 1973) AND WAS GENERALLY
PRESUMED TO BE DE FACTO PARTY SECRETARY-GENERAL. IF WANG
TUNG-HSING HAS INDEED MOVED INTO THIS KEY POSITION,

4. EARILER IN THE DAY, NATIONAL PEOOLE'S CONGRESS STANDING
COMMITTEE VICE CHAIRMAN TAN CHE -LIN TOLD A BRITISH
PARLIAMENTARIAN (BOTTOMSLEY) THATTHE PARTY CONGRESS
HAD ENDED AND HAD DECIDED "IMPORTANT CHANGES" IN THE
LEADERSHIP. IF SO, THESE ARE SO FAR INVISIBLE. PUTATIVE
GANG OF FOUR SUPPORTERS CUSHC AS PEKING MILITARY REGGION
COMMANDER CHEN HSI-LIEN; SHENYANG MILITARY LEADER REGION COMMANDER
LI TE-SHENG, LIAONING PARTY FIRST SECRETARY TSETN SHAO-SHAN,
PEKING PARTY BOSS WU TEH? AND WANG TUNG-SHING HAVE ALL
SURVIVED AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS. WU TEH AND POLITBORU
MEMBER CHI TENG-KUEI WERE EXTREMELY VISIBLE ON TV COVERAGE.
OTHER PRESENT MEMBERS
OF THE POLITBURO HAVE ALLRETAINED THEIR SESATS AS CENTRAL
COMMITTEE MEMBERS. WHILE SEVERAL WELL KNOWN FACTIONAL
ALLIES OF TENG HSIAO-PING EXPECTEDLY WON SEATS ON THE NEW
CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CHU MU-CHIH, HU YAO-PANG, WAN LI) A
DEFINITIVE ASSESSMENT OF WINNERS AND LOSERS WILL HAVE TO
AWAIT PUBLICATION OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW POLITBURO
AND ANALYSIS OF THE NEWCOMERS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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5. HUA KUO-FENG'S POLITICAL REPORT, AT LEAST AS SUMMARIZED IN THE BROADCAST, EMPHASIZED FAMILIAR THEMES EXPOUNDED AT THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS THIRD PLENARY SESSION AND ON ARMY DAY: HOLDING HIGH THE BANNER OF MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT (I.E. NEOLINEAR DEMOCRATIZATION), STRIVING TO ACHIEVE THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS OF CHOU EN-LAI IN THIS CENTURY, AND OPPOSING THE "HEGEMONY" OF BOTH SUPERPOWERS (THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION). BUT HUA ALSO UPHELD MAO'S "THEORY OF THREE WORLDS," RECENTLY UNDER ATTACK BY THE ALBANIANS FOR FAVORING THE UNITED STATES AS THE WEAKER, DECLINING SUPERPOWER AGAINST THE MORE AGGRESSIVE, EXPANSIONIST SUPERPOWER THE SOVIET UNION. ALL OFFICIALS ASSOCIATED WITH PRC POLICY TOWARD THE UNITED STATES MAINTAINED THEIR POSITIONS ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

6. BRIEF HIGHLIGHTS FROM HEY CHIEN-YING'S REPORT ON THE REVISED CONSTITUTION WERE EQUALLY UNSURPRISING, SIGNIFYING A RETURN TO PARTY "DEMOCRACY" AND MORE EMPHASIS ON RULES AND REGULATIONS. AS EXPECTED, THE SO-CALLED HELICOPTER PROMOTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE GANG OF FOUR ARE NOW CONSTITUTIONALLY IMPOSSIBLE; NEW PARTY MEMBERS MUST UNDERGO A ONE YEAR PERIOD OF PROBATION.

7. TENG 7. TENG HSIAO-PING'S CLOSING ADDRESS WAS BRIEFLY SUMMARIZED. IT TOUCHED ON (BUT THE COMMUNIQUE DID NOT ELABORATE) "SEVERAL PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES" WHICH COULD BE RESOLVED ONLY BY "TRULY BELIEVING AND RELYING ON THE MASSES".

8. AUGUST 20 TELEVISION COVERAGE OF THE CONGRESS GAVE PRICE OF PLACE TO TENG HSIAO-PING AFTER HUA KUO-FENG, A POSSIBLE TIPOFF THAT TENG WILL BE NAMED PREMIER AT THE FORTHCOMING 5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS. (THE COMMUNIQUE SPECIFIED THAT THE CONGRESS HAD DECIDED TO CONVENE THE 5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC) AND THE 5TH SESSION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONGRESS.) TAN CHEN-LIN
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HAD EARLIER STATED THAT DECISIONS ON ALL GOVERNMENTAL/STATE MATTERS WOULD HAVE TO AWAIT THE NPC.

9. THE RADIO BROADCAST OF THE CONGRESS COMMUNIQUE TOUCHED OFF INSTANTANEOUS "SPONTANEOUS" DEMONSTRATIONS OF SUPPORT WHICH WERE REMINISCENT OF THOSE STAGED TO CELEBRATE THE RECENT THIRD PLENUM OF THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS. BUT THE

WORD FROM TAN CHEN-LIN TO BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIAN
BOTTOMSLEY IS THAT THESE CELEBRATIONS WILL BE SHORTER IN
DURATION AND SOMEWHAT MORE MUTED -- PERHAPS OUT OF
ENNUI OR POSSIBLY OUT OF A DESIRE TO COMPLETE THE
THEATRICALS BEFORE SECRETARY VANCE'S ARRIVAL ON MONDAY.
WOODCOCK.
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER".

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